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ÚSTAV JAZYKŮ

SOCIAL MEDIA AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

SOCIÁLNÍ MÉDIA A JEJICH VLIV NA DEMOKRATICKÉ VOLBY

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AUTHOR

AUTOR PRÁCE

Veronika Khyzhniak

SUPERVISOR

VEDOUCÍ PRÁCE

M. A. Kenneth Froehling

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Ústav jazyků

Studentka: Veronika Khyzhniak

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Americká prezidentská volba v roce 2016 zdůraznila důležitost komunikace sociálních médií v demokratických volbách po celém světě. Cílem semestrálního projektu je prozkoumat různé formy sociálních médií a ukázat jejich vliv na demokratické volby.

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Konzultant:

doc. PhDr. Milena Krhutová, Ph.D.
předseda oborové rady

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Abstract: Progress in online technology has greatly improved the way how people all over the world can communicate with each other. Social networks greatly facilitate live communication not only for ordinary people but also for representatives of the legislative power. With the help of social media, politicians can promote their political campaign, advertise their party and, thanks to this, quickly and economically gain supporters. The 2016 US presidential elections highlighted the importance of social media communication on democratic elections worldwide. The aim of the thesis is to study different forms of social media. The project deals with the impact of Twitter and Facebook in the 2016 USA election and describes the way candidates were using it during the race.

Key words: social media, presidential elections, political campaign, communication, Twitter, Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, Facebook

Abstract: Technologický pokrok výrazně zlepšil způsob, jakým mohou lidé na celém světě komunikovat. Sociální sítě velmi usnadňují živou komunikaci nejen pro obyčejné lidi, ale také pro zástupce legislativní moci. Prostřednictvím sociálních médií mohou politici propagovat svou politickou kampaň a svou stranu a díky tomu rychle a ekonomicky získat podporu. Americká prezidentská volba v roce 2016 zdůraznila důležitost komunikace sociálních médií v demokratických volbách po celém světě. Cílem bakalářské práce je prozkoumat různé formy sociálních médií a vyzdvihnout jejich vliv na demokratické volby. Projekt se zabývá vlivem Twitteru a Facebooku na volby v USA v roce 2016 a popisuje způsob, jakým je kandidáti používali během prezidentského klání.

Klíčová slova: sociální média, prezidentské volby, politická kampaň, komunikace, Twitter, Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump, Facebook

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Declaration

I hereby declare that I have worked on this project independently, using the resources listed in the bibliography.

Prohlášení

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V Brně dne

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(podpis autora)

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List of abbreviations:

DC – the District of Columbia

DNC – Democratic National Committee

FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigation

IA – State of Iowa

LGBT – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender

LLC – Limited Liability Company

NBA – National Basketball Association

RBC – Royal Bank of Canada

SMS – Short Message Service

SNS – Social Networking Site

VPN – Virtual Private Network

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1. Introduction

Social media plays a significant role in the everyday life of every person. New media are developing every day and offer their users great opportunities. Nowadays, social networks are not only the place where people can communicate but also an instrument through which they can do various things without leaving their homes like shopping, streaming videos or advertising products or events. However, not just ordinary people use social media. It has become very popular among corporations, politicians, and government. Social media allows politicians and organizations to use the method of direct communication with people across the country without using filters. With the help of social websites, the government can collect the constituency and solicit their support at reduced costs and in a greater scale than the traditional media. The right application of social media technologies can do miracles. Successful and skillful use of social networks can lead a presidential candidate to victory.

Wireless communication and the communications and information-processing power of the Internet is spreading to all spheres of social life, just as the electric engine is distributing energy in industrial society. Social websites such as Facebook and Twitter provide candidates the opportunity to control their messaging and the potential to reach a greater audience than ever before by not spending a much time and money. Moreover, social media and its highly visible environment provide presidential candidates the ideal platform to promote themselves and interact with voters – directly and without the filter of the mainstream media.

Both, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump used social media as part of their presidential campaigns. However, it appears to be that only one of them managed to turn their social media campaign to the advantage. Discussion on how Donald Trump won the presidential election in the US will continue for a long time. Intense curiosity among experts causes the amount of money spent on the campaign. In comparison with the costs of Hillary Clinton - \$ 1.4 billion, Trump spent \$ 900 million. (Washingtonpost, 2018) Trump's team managed to invest a much smaller amount of money in a more efficient manner.

The aim of this thesis is to describe how social networks such as Facebook and Twitter were used in political campaigns, specifically in the 2016 election, in the USA. Moreover, this work additionally deals with the potential problems and best uses of social media in election campaign.

2. Social media

2.1 Definition of Social media

Social media are “the forms of electronic communication (such as websites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (such as videos)” (Merriam-Webster). They include a large number of tools used for online communication, such as instant messaging, text chat, forums, social bookmarking, wikis, blogs and social network services.

These are the types of social media:

- Online websites that use ‘Web 2.0’ techniques to encourage user-contributed content and comment.
- Blogs (i.e. personal, publicly available journals or news) discussion or informational websites that allow anyone to report or comment on news and events.
- Microblogging services such as Twitter that makes it possible to publish short sentences, images or video links to which other users can subscribe.
- Photo and video- hosting services like Flickr or YouTube that allow their users to publish material that they have produced (i.e. photographs or videos).
- Social network services (SNS) such as Facebook, Instagram or LinkedIn, which allow users to create an online profile, communicate with friends, colleagues, and organizations or share content which appears interesting for them.

2.2 Most popular services

The most popular social networking sites have changed over the years, and they will assuredly continue to change because new technologies are developing every day to improve and facilitate people’s lives. Below is the list of the most popular social networks at the moment.

2.2.1. Facebook

Facebook is the top social network on the web nowadays. It is becoming a beast of a social networking site on the web with about two billion monthly active users and more than one billion that log on daily. (Statista.com) According to the research done by the Pew Research Center in 2016, Facebook continues to be the most popular social networking platform by a substantial margin: nearly eight-in-ten online users (79%) now use Facebook in

the USA. Moreover, this number has increased by 7 percentage points compared with a Pew Research Center survey conducted at a similar point in 2015.

Facebook was launched in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg and initially could be used only by students of Harvard University. Twenty years later, the site has become one of the biggest websites in the world, visited by two billion people a month. Facebook allows users to create a profile with a photo and information about themselves, invite friends, exchange messages with them, change the status, leave messages on user's own and others' walls, upload photographs and videos and create groups. Facebook offers many functions through which users can interact with each other. Among the most popular are virtual winks, photo albums and a "wall" on which familiar users can leave text and audio-visual messages. The user can control the level of access to information published in his profile, and determine who has access to any part of the page. In addition, on the site there is an opportunity to complain about unpleasant users or block them. In April 2016 Mark Zuckerberg said that Facebook launched Facebook Live - a new function of live video. As a result, users can create videos, messages and send them to each other in real time.

2.2.2. Twitter

Twitter, founded in 2006 in San Francisco by Jack Dorsey, is currently in the list of top 10 popular social media network in the United States and is also a widely used platform internationally (Statista.com, 2016). Twitter's more than 300 million users vary, from members of the public to celebrities, journalists, and politicians. This platform is a "microblogging service," where users can voice their thoughts and feelings in posts that are 140 characters or less. Since its creation, Twitter has gained notoriety and popularity worldwide. Roughly one-quarter of online adults (24%) use Twitter.

A distinctive characteristic and the main advantage of Twitter is that it sets records during the notable events. For example, during the 2010 World Cup, football fans wrote 2,940 tweets per second during the match between Japan and Cameroon on June 14, 2010. The record was beaten again when 3085 tweets per second were published after the victory of the "Los Angeles Lakers" in the NBA final on June 17, 2010. When American singer Michael Jackson died on June 25, 2009, users updated their status with the words "Michael Jackson" at a speed of 100,000 tweets per hour. (Swanson, M, 2018). Thus, due to the social activity of Twitter users no events of great significance will ever go unnoticed.

2.2.3. YouTube

YouTube is a video sharing service that allows users to watch videos posted by other users and upload videos of their own. The service was commenced as an independent website in 2005 and was acquired by Google in 2006. The company is based in San Bruno, California, and uses Adobe Flash Video technology to display a huge variety of video content, including movie clips, TV clips, and music videos. Over 3 billion videos are viewed each day on YouTube. A 2014 Pew Research Center study of online adults found that 63 % of internet users worldwide use YouTube every day. Due to its simplicity and ease of use, YouTube has become the most popular video hosting and second site in the world in terms of the number of visitors. The site features films, music videos, trailers, news, educational programs, and amateur videos, including video blogs, slideshows, humorous videos and more. YouTube has become such a significant phenomenon in the media world that TV is compelled to reckon with it. Many media companies create official accounts on YouTube, promoting their products through the service.

2.3 The expansion of social media

As the years go by, more and more applications allow people to communicate across the globe: Snapchat, Instagram, Twitter, LinkedIn, and the list gradually expands. Letters were the earliest ways of communicating across large distances which were delivered by hand from one person to another. Then, in 1792, the telegraph was invented. This enabled messages to be delivered over a long distance far faster than a horse and jockey could carry them. Although telegraph messages were short, they were an innovative solution to send news and information.

Two great discoveries happened in the last decade of the 1800s: the telephone in 1876 and the radio in 1891. Both technologies are still in use today, although the latest versions are much more ahead than their predecessors. Telephone lines and radio signals allowed people immediately interact across great distances.

In the 20th Century technology started to change very fast. The earliest forms of the Internet, such as CompuServe, were developed in the 1960s. In addition, the first forms of email were developed during this time. By the 1980s, home computers and social media became more common. The first social media site was created in 1997 and was called Six Degrees. This site gave users the opportunity to upload a profile and make friends with other users. In 1999, the first blogging sites became popular, creating a social media sensation that is still popular today. After the invention of blogging, social media began to grow in popularity.

By 2006, Facebook and Twitter became accessible to users everywhere in the world. Other sites like Tumblr, Spotify, Foursquare and Pinterest gained popularity to fill specific social networking niches. At present, there is a great variety of social networking sites, and many of them can be linked to allow cross-posting. This creates an environment where users can reach the maximum number of people without losing the close intimacy of person-to-person communication.

3. Election

3.1 Definition of election

An election is a “formal process of selecting a person for public office or of accepting or rejecting a political proposition by voting”. (Britannica.com) In election lexicon, a candidate is a person who seeks or is put forward for an office by election or appointment. A ballot is a sheet of paper or a ball that a voter uses to cast a secret vote. In the election lexicon, a poll is a place where a voter casts his or her ballot. Voting is a process that regularly occurs at specified intervals. For national election, Congress has designated the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November as an Election Day.

The Presidential election process in the USA follows a typical cycle:

- Spring of the year before an election – Candidates announce their intentions to run.
- Summer of the year before an election – Primary and caucus debates take place.
- January to June of election year – States and parties hold primaries and caucuses.
- July to early September – Parties hold nominating conventions to choose their nominees.
- September and October – Candidates participate in Presidential debates.
- Early November – Election Day
- January 20 – Inauguration Day

Candidate

As stated in the Article II, Section 1, Clause 5 of the U.S. Constitution, to become a president of the United States a person must be at least 35 years of age, he or she must be native-born citizens of the United States and a resident of the U.S. for at least 14 years.

Presidential Primaries and Caucuses

The election process begins with the primary elections and moves to nominating conventions, during which political parties each select a candidate to unite behind. The candidates for president pass a series of state primaries and caucuses. They are run separately however they both have the similar idea—to allow the states to choose the political parties nominees for the general election. State primaries are run by state and local governments. Voting occurs through secret ballot.

Caucuses are private meetings run by political parties. Participants divide themselves into groups according to the candidate they support. Then, each group gives speeches promoting its candidate and tries to persuade others to join the group. At the end of the caucus, party organizers count the voters in each candidate's group and calculate how many delegates each candidate has won.

Presidential Conventions

After the primaries and caucuses, most political parties hold national conventions to conclude their choice for their Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. After a single nominee is chosen, general election campaigning begins. Candidates travel the country, explain their views, beliefs, and plans to the citizens and endeavor to receive the support of potential voters. Demonstrations, debates, and advertising are a large part of general election campaigning.

Election Day

All 50 US states and Washington DC have a set number of "electors" in the Electoral College – roughly proportionate to the size of each state. California, the biggest state, has 55 electoral votes, while Wyoming and Washington DC receive only three votes. According to Article II, section 1, clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution, there are 538 electors and to win a majority and become president either candidate needs to gain 270 electors – half the total plus one. (see fig. 1) Americans technically vote for electors, not for the candidates themselves. The electors are state officials or senior party figures, however, they are not usually named on the ballot.

Donald Trump received 304 electoral votes against 227 for Hillary Clinton. However, Clinton outstripped Trump by 2.9 million votes, gaining 65.8 million against 62.9 million. These elections were the fifth in the history of the United States, when the country's president was a candidate who received a smaller number of votes than the loser candidate. The map below describes the distribution of votes by states. Red color indicates states won by Trump; blue denotes those won by Clinton. Numbers indicate electoral votes allotted to the winner of each state.

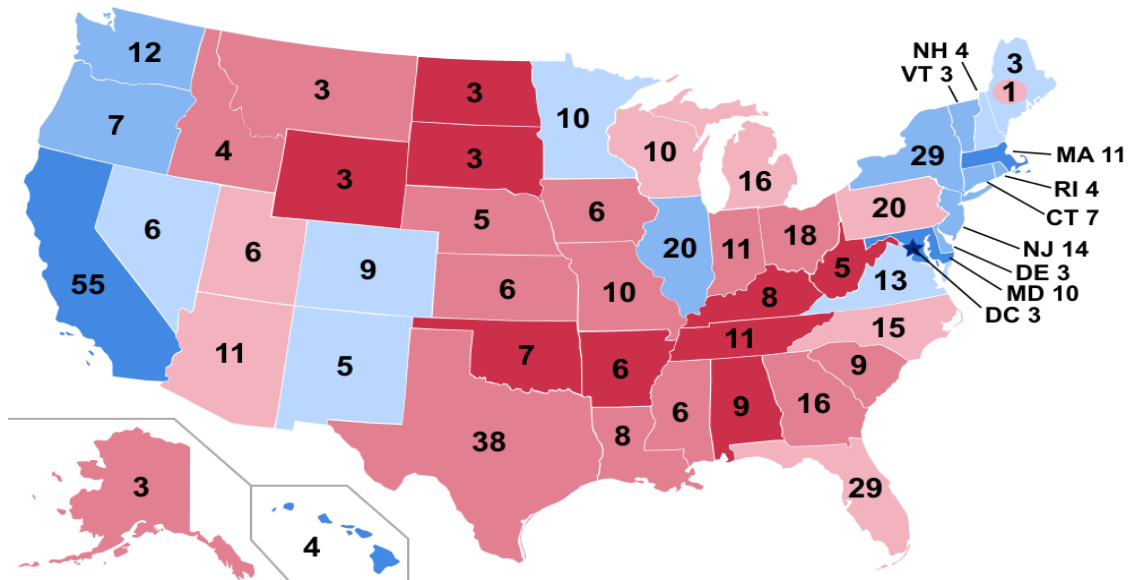


Figure 1: Distribution of Electoral Votes, 2016.

Winning the Popular Vote but Losing the Election

It is possible to win the Electoral College, but lose the popular vote. That means that a candidate can win a combination of states but lose the majority of votes over the country. This has happened five times in American elections, most recently in 2016.

Not receiving 270 Electoral Votes

In the unique situation that no candidate receives the required 270 electoral votes, the decision moves to the House of Representatives, who votes to elect the new President from among the top three candidates. In the USA history, this happened only once, during the 1824 election when John Quincy Adams received the most votes in the House of Representatives after no candidate won a majority of the Electoral College.

Inauguration Day

Inauguration Day happens every four years on January 20 (or January 21 if January 20 befalls on a Sunday) at the U.S. Capitol building in Washington, DC. On this federal holiday, the President-elect and Vice-President-elect are sworn in and take office.

3.2. History of election campaigns in the USA

During the whole procedure for the election of the US president, the political campaign is the most important, as during this period the candidate can convince the citizens to choose him or her and secure the victory in advance.

At the beginning, when there was no television politicians traveled all around the country, met the voters, held town-hall debates and shook hands. This was done to gain a support from potential voters. In fact, in 1948 Harry S. Truman crisscrossed the country by rail travelling over 31,000 miles in America, shaking over half a million hands and gave 352 speeches. During the campaign, Truman often stopped in small villages to give short speeches with inhabitants. These speeches usually mentioned some local political issues and an encouragement to go vote. Later, the invention of television has changed the way politicians reached their audiences. Presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower was the first candidate who used the new media and created one minute TV spots. The video was filmed during one day and the content was simple - Eisenhower took questions from the audience, and answered them. These questions were split into commercials, and the campaign named "Eisenhower Answers America" started. This strong start demonstrated the real power of television.

John F. Kennedy, who came after Eisenhower, was a male that was born to be on camera. He performed more than 200 TV advertisements during his campaign. He had his own style and he looked confident on a TV screen. At the same time, Richard Nixon looked nervous and troubled on camera and had sweat on his forehead. Therefore, when the debates were broadcasted, it was clearly understood that Kennedy was the winner because of television.

After the death of John Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson ran one of the most influential commercials in political advertising history. Its title was "The Daisy Girl", it revealed a young girl playing "he loves me, he loves me not" with the chamomile and when the last petal was plucked, a voice appeared and commenced to count down. The final slogan "because the stakes are too high for you to stay at home" was the last point for Barry Goldwater – Lyndon's opponent. Johnson won the election by gaining the support of 44 states against 6. Consequently, television advertising once again proved its strength and infusion, especially with the use of negative advertisements.

However, when it comes to present political advertising, Barack Obama changed the rules. He used the Internet as an advertising tool beautifully. The book *Mass Media and American Politics* written by Doris A. Graber gave useful statistics about Obama's and McCain's use of social media in the 2008 campaign. These statistics revealed that Barack

Obama had 2 million Facebook followers while McCain had only 600 000. In addition, artist Shepard Fairey created an iconic poster that was seen in streets across America. The Internet services carried the message of Hope across the nation. Obama's use of the modern methods in connection with his youth and charisma completely distracted his traditional Republican opponent, John McCain. His campaign was recognized as a breakthrough in a modern political promotion.

4. Influence of Twitter on 2016 election in the USA

The 2016 election was one that will never be forgotten. Candidates used many tools that impacted on the voter's decision on Election Day but there was one very crucial part of each campaign that affected people the most - social media. Both, Clinton and Trump used Twitter to its fullest extent in order to reach out to electors. Potential voters expressed their opinions in social media by commenting on posts, participation in polling and sharing their opinions. The main aim of using social platforms was to force these people to participate in the democratic system by getting out the vote. It is difficult to understand how a nominee can use social media in order to win the race, however by analyzing the posts of Clinton and Trump in their Twitter profiles, it will become clearer.

4.1 Hillary Clinton

Hillary Diane Clinton was born on October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois. Hillary Rodham was the eldest daughter of Hugh Rodham, a prosperous fabric store owner, and Dorothy Emma Howell Rodham; she has two younger brothers, Hugh Jr. who was born in 1950 and Anthony, born in 1954. Rodham attended Wellesley College, where she was an active and enthusiastic student in politics. In 1969 she was elected as a senior class president. Then, she attended Yale Law School, where she met Bill Clinton – her future husband. Hillary Rodham married him on October 11, 1975, at their home in Fayetteville. The National Law Journal put Hillary Clinton in the list of one hundred of the most powerful layers in the United States within 1988 and 1991. During Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign, Hillary developed as a powerful and valued partner of her husband, and as president, he selected her to head the Task Force on National Health Reform in 1993. Clinton became the first wife of a president to win public office and the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Senate from New York in 2000. Then, in 2009 she was nominated as Secretary of State by Barack Obama, who was president at that time. On April 12, 2015, Hillary announced her campaign for president. Clinton's campaign was based on various themes which included raising middle-class incomes, expanding women's rights, equal rights for LGBT people and the prescription of discrimination on grounds of race and sexual orientation and women's rights.

4.2 Hillary Clinton's campaign on Twitter

Every social network can be used in different ways: to publish campaign materials, upload videos or create surveys without having any restrictions on the number of symbols.

However, Twitter is limited to 140 characters. This makes things more complicated to say, therefore, the importance of photographs, videos, and links become more critical. A useful way on how to get one's post into the realm is to use hashtags. Hashtag (on social media websites) is a word or phrase preceded by a hash mark (#), used within a message to identify a keyword or topic of interest and facilitate a search for it. (Dictionaty.com) This symbol can be a great tool to use so that when someone searches for a particular hashtag, that post will come up.

According to data from Twitter, Hillary Clinton has gained more than 20 million Twitter followers since April 2013. When Clinton announced her presidential bid, her tweet received more almost 95,000 retweets. The news created more than 7,000 tweets per minute, with Clinton's single tweet, in which she said she desired to champion "everyday Americans", collecting more than 90,000 retweets and almost the same number of favorites so far. At the same time, when Clinton announced that she was running, her opponents commenced a hashtag campaign (#WhyImNotVotingForHillary) that became trended very soon as the most popular topic. For instance, people have devised many different hashtags in support of Hillary like #GirlIGuessImWithHer, #StillWithHer. Additionally, there were popular hashtag from Hillary's supporters against Donald Trump like #NotMyPresident, #TrumpProtest.

Hillary Clinton provided more traditional digital strategy on Twitter than Trump. She was scrupulous and meticulous in her social media campaign, avoiding possible mistakes. Unlike Trump, Clinton proposes the exact message that will satisfy everyone. Although her strategy appears to be safe, various critics argue that Hillary's tweets demonstrate how much work and time went into meticulously creating the post. Hillary's secretaries calculate what needs to be said (topic) with the maximal amount of safety. The fact that a great army of people works hard on creating a proper tweet for Hillary was ridiculed by Donald Trump. The reason for another "exchange of courtesies" between the candidates for President of the United States was Barack Obama's video message in which he publicly supported Clinton. Donald Trump reacted to this dramatic tweet: "Obama just endorsed Crooked Hillary. He wants four more years of Obama—but nobody else does!" Clinton's response was succinct. "Delete your account", — answered the former U.S. Secretary of state. (see fig. 2)



Figure 2: Hillary’s and Donald’s conversation on Twitter, June 2016.

This post has collected more than half of a million retweets and got more than 700 thousand likes. This message was set in the microblogging record and became the most popular during all the time of Clinton's campaign. Furthermore, Trump could not remain silent this time and joked about the question of how much time spent Clinton on writing this tweet: “How long did it take your staff of 823 people to think that up--and where are your 33,000 emails that you deleted?” But this tweet was unanswered by Hilary and this information skirmish was over.

However, as stated at the research of Edinburgh University, Clinton’s tweets were often anti-Trump tweets. In other words, Clinton more often criticized Trump than she praised herself. Research illustrates that Clinton wrote 331 positive tweets about herself and 363 that attacked Trump in the campaign’s final weeks. Meanwhile, Trump sent 446 tweets about himself and 246yweets against Clinton. “This suggests that Clinton expended more energy attacking her opponent than promoting herself, while Trump did the exact opposite,” the study said.

4.3 Donald Trump

Donald Trump was born on June 14, 1946, in Queens, New York to a builder and developer Frederick Trump and his wife Mary McLeod. Donald was an active, positive child. His parents sent him to the New York Military Academy at age of 13, believing that the discipline and strict rules of the school would direct his energy in a positive way. He graduated in 1964. Then Trump entered Fordham University and transferred to the Wharton School of Finance at the University of Pennsylvania two years later. He graduated in 1968 with a degree in economics. Until he announced his candidacy, he has been well known as a real-estate developer and businessman. In 2001, he built the Trump world tower, which had

72 floors. Trump began his political career by seeking the nomination for the Reform Party for the 2000 presidential race. Then, he publicly announced he would be running for president in the 2012 election. However, it wasn't until the 2016 election that Trump became the official Republican nominee for president and won the majority of Electoral College votes in a remarkable victory on November 8, 2016. Despite losing the popular vote to Hillary Clinton by almost 2.9 million votes, Trump's electoral win —306 votes to Clinton's 232 votes made him the 45th president of the United States.

His political campaign focused on middle-class people, conservative Americans, who were worried about immigration and who were against Barack Obama's politics. Trump was focused on topics, which are popular in America for a long time. He had been speaking about economics, loss of jobs, salaries or illegal immigrants. The large issue of the election was also healthcare.

4.4 Donald Trump's campaign on Twitter

Unlike any other presidential candidate, Trump used his social media to provoke and insult his critics and challengers. Rather than having carefully crafted and safe social media posts, Trump's tweets reflected his actual personality and rhetoric. Therefore, Trump's social media account was an honest depiction of his character, allowing his followers and supporters to truly get to know their candidate, as opposed to a candidate's campaign team. Trump's online rhetoric was completely different from any other political candidate in the current electoral race. "Trump does not use Twitter instrumentally... He tweets as he thinks, which is precisely the way that Twitter is supposed to work," writes Marc Ambinder at The Week.

Despite judgment and misinterpretation of most of Trump's tweets, he continued to post what he desired to write. (see fig. 3) Once, he responded to the next critic's attacks:



Figure 3: Trump's tweet on 1st of July, 2017.

Moreover, Mr. Trump pinned a tweet, so that it stayed at the top. Trump has also gained a huge social media following from his active engagement and emotional connection to his online followers. Rather than simply posing questions on Twitter or liking a few carefully selected photographs on Instagram, Trump was popular for frequently responding to tweets and retweeting supportive posts. He also referenced pop culture, celebrity gossip, and

glimpses into his personal family life on his social media feed. In using social media the same way the average millennial did, Trump was successful in relating to his audience and followers in an authentic and effective social media voice.

4.5 Support by the USA celebrities

The Wrap News was doing research during all period of Hillary Clinton's political campaign about celebrities who supported her. According to this research, Clinton's list of famous people who supported her was longer than any other candidate. Hillary Clinton gathered an impressive army of supporters among the celebrities. It is easier to say who was against her, than to list all her stellar admirers. The study counted the total number of celebrities who were for Clinton and recorded 167 Hollywood stars for Hillary Clinton (Server The Wrap News 2016). Her most faithful supporters were Katy Perry, who participated in many pro-Clinton events and Madonna who posted the picture with the text on her Instagram: "Join me with the first president to welcome in our first female president." before the rally in Washington Square Park. Beyoncé and Jay Z additionally organized a concert to support Clinton one weekend before November 8, 2016. At the end of the show, Hillary Clinton came out and gave a brief speech. However, the main aim of this concert was not only to support Hillary Clinton but also to collect the information about voters. Tickets to the concert were for free and one of the tickets offices was across the street from the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections. The gathered data about buyers were used to write potential voters and remind them to vote on Election Day.

Actor George Clooney with his wife, a lawyer Amal Clooney, organized and hosted a charity event at their home in Los Angeles for Hillary Clinton and participated in another fundraiser for her in San Francisco the day before (The Guardian, 2016).

Consequently, the list of celebrities included more than a hundred actors, singers, and entertainers. It included stars like Jessica Alba, Karl Lagerfeld, Orlando Bloom, Pharrell Williams and many others. During the campaign, they published posts in support of Hillary in their social networks and participated in actions of support.

After Donald Trump's announcement in June 2015, the number of endorsements from celebrities increased steadily. However, there has been definitely interesting fact about stars in Trump's campaign. Many famous people were making negative comments about him so he was receiving more negative reactions from Hollywood than other competitors. Some of Hollywood stars have compared him to Hitler. George Clooney, Jennifer Lawrence or Emma Watson have spoken out against Donald Trump (Server Telegraph 2017).

Despite the fact that the list of Trump's supporter included less than 100 people, there still were famous stars like Mike Tyson, Aissa Wayne, Willie Robertson and others.

American actress Stacey Dash tweeted on Wednesday, November 9: "America Will Be Great Again @realDonaldTrump #praiseGod #WeStand #USA." During the campaign, Dash gave financial support to the Great America PAC. Also, Stacey Dash illustrated her support for Donald Trump before the Republican debate. In an interview with Fox News, Dash said of Trump; 'I believe he is a true conservative. He's strong on national security.'

Kid Rock, famous American singer, songwriter, producer, and actor, commenced to manufacture pro-Trump T-shirts, selling them for about 25 dollars. This merchandise was criticized because some signs on T-shirts were too offensive and inappropriate. For example one of them said "God, Gun, Trump"

If Hillary was well known for society because of her great political career, Donald Trump was known from the business area. Therefore, both of them could benefit from their well-knowingness. However, it had been illustrated differently. Trump, as himself, was the biggest celebrity in his campaign. Because he didn't receive support from many A-listers of famous people and celebrities supporting him often changed their mind about him at one point. Clinton, on the other hand, won the popular vote and had the dollars and voices of entertainment firmly behind her. At least 20 of the Americans on the 2016 year's Celebrity 100 list of highest-paid entertainers vocalized support for Clinton. Her most fervent supporters included Katy Perry, who appeared at many pro-Clinton events, and LeBron James, who made his thoughts known in an op-ed.

Thus if focus is only on the number of people from Hollywood who supported Clinton or Trump, Clinton had more noticeable support than Trump. Many concerts were organized during the campaign, which should express a performer's support for Hillary Clinton. Trump had a lower number of supporters from Hollywood, however when a celebrity expressed sympathy to him, it was not that significant and strong-minded as it was in case of Clinton's endorsement.

5. Influence of Facebook on 2016 election in the USA

5.1 Hillary Clinton's campaign on Facebook

It is no secret that Hillary Clinton has always been a career-oriented politician. Since 1993, Clinton has held such positions as First Lady, senator, secretary of state, and has been a presidential primary candidate. On April 12, 2016, Clinton announced the official start of her campaign by posting a video. Unlike the clip in 2007, in which Hillary talked for several minutes about her political goals, she appeared in a new video a minute and a half later. Before her speech, viewers could see ordinary Americans sharing their plans and concerns. And then Clinton said: "Citizens of the United States need someone who would fight for them. I want to become such a person." The video also demonstrated problems that worried Hillary the most - the rights of women (one of the heroines of the video was a mother raising her children and at the same time trying to build a career), immigration problems (Spanish-speaking people say they want to initiate their business in the US). Problems such as racial tolerance, were also shown - African-Americans waiting for the addition to a family, and an Asian-looking girl who graduated from college and was looking for work. The slogan of the campaign was "Hillary for America". This video was viewed almost two million times. After its release, Hillary reported in Twitter: "Road trip! Loaded the van & set off for IA. Met a great family when we stopped this afternoon. Many more to come. - H "- and went on a tour around the country in a minibus that received the nickname Scooby-Doo ¹(the main characters of this popular cartoon also traveled by bus).

Supporters of the former first lady noted that she changed her political campaign from the race in 2008 when she was defeated by Barack Obama. In order to gain the upper hand, Hillary Clinton increased the activity in social networks and frequent communication with journalists. She set up her own Twitter and Facebook accounts. In social networks, childhood photographs of Hillary, as well as her family photographs, commenced to spread. One of them, where Hillary and her husband were holding a newborn granddaughter, was signed as follows: "The happiest day in our life with Bill."

Unfortunately, her extremely safe and calculated social media behavior translated into an uninspiring and identical Facebook and Twitter feed. Her two most important themes on Facebook were mobilizing voters and attacking the opponent. Her posts displayed her desire and need for citizens to come out and vote in the election. The week before the election she wrote: |Election Day is in one week - and once it's over, it can't be redone. Is everyone you

¹ A character in US television cartoons.

know voting?” (see fig. 4) Moreover, she appealed to the people of America directly on Election Day by writing: “It’s Election Day and polls are officially open. When will you vote today?” (see fig. 5)



Figure 4: Post by Hillary Clinton on Facebook from November 1, 2016.



Figure 5: Post by Hillary Clinton on Facebook from November 8, 2016.

5.1.1 Pantsuit Nation

A Facebook group is a page created for an organization or business to promote activities. Users can join the group and post their thoughts on a wall and interact through discussion threads. (WhatIs)

During the election race, American followers of Clinton created various groups on Facebook to support her. These groups had such names as "Bros4America" ("B4A"), or "Bros4Hillary"; “Hillary Clinton Support Group” and "Hillary Clinton For President". However, not only the American people created such groups. There were also communities for Clinton from different countries, for example: “Vienna for Hillary Clinton 2016”, “London for Hillary”, “Hillary Clinton (Bangladeshi Fan Group)” and others. The largest group by the number of subscribers was the “Pantsuit Nation”, which twisted three million subscribers within a few weeks. (pantsuitnation.org)

Pantsuit Nation is a private Facebook group that was used to unite Hillary Clinton supporters during her 2016 presidential campaign. In October 2016, Libby Chamberlain, a housewife from Maine, created Pantsuit Nation as a secret Facebook group, where she invited only her friends. The original idea was to instigate Hillary Clinton supporters to vote and to wear pantsuits to the polls on the Election Day. However, “Pantsuit Nation” had become something more than that and within twenty-four hours, the group joined about 24,000 members (new members could only be added by friends already within the group).

The group commenced out as a secure location for members to share personal stories and pictures connected to what a vote for Clinton means to them. Group subscribers shared their experiences as members of the LGBTQ community, immigrants, racial and religious

minorities. Additionally, there were many the posts about pantsuits: wearing them to the polls, sharing tips on where to buy them and sharing women's selfies². Pantsuit Nation had a set of rules which forbade negative posts about Clinton or Clinton's contestants, poll updates, memes³ and links to news articles about her. A week after the creation of the group, during the Election Day members of the group posted photographs of themselves at the polls while wearing pantsuits, and shared stories about voting for Clinton. By wearing costumes, girls and women from all over the United States of America teamed up to express their admiration for Hillary Clinton. Hundreds of photographs signed with "Pantsuit Nation" hashtag appeared on Facebook on November, 8⁴.

A day later, when Clinton lost the election, the Pantsuit Nation page suspended work. Now the page continues to exist and support the former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton. Despite the fact that Trump, not Clinton, won the election the group unified the fans of Hillary Clinton across America and gained immense popularity.

5.2 Donald Trump's campaign on Facebook

Trump officially announced his candidacy for the 2016 election on June 16, 2015. His announcement took place in the Trump Tower in New York. In his speech, Trump paid attention to the main problems, such as illegal immigration, offshoring jobs in America, the US public debt, and Islamic terrorism. During his speech, he used a phrase "Make America great again!" which then became a campaign slogan. Trump also announced that he would independently finance his presidential campaign, and would refuse any money from sponsors and lobbyists. After the announcement in New York, Trump immediately went to other states, including Iowa and New Hampshire.

Donald Trump was the candidate with the highest disapproval rating in the history of American elections. According to the official data, the president's approval rating was 32%, then 63% of US citizens did not approve his activity as head of state. (Pew Research Center) These indicators made people in the US wonder about how Donald Trump won the election.

The most challenging task for Trump was to obtain the access to the traditional media. The attitude of influential American media to the Republican candidate was openly negative and pejorative. The media frankly sympathized with Hillary Clinton, 57 newspapers endorsed her out of 100 largest newspapers in the United States. (American Presidency Project) Finally, the search for unconventional channels of political communication was pushed by the decline

² A photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media.

³ A cultural item in the form of an image, video, phrase, etc., that is spread via the Internet and often altered in a creative or humorous way.

⁴ Election Day in the United States

in public trust (especially Republicans) towards traditional media. In recent times, according to Gallup, an unprecedented drop in confidence in the press occurred in the United States. In 2015, 40% of respondents believed that the media “reported the news accurately and reliably,” and in early autumn of 2016 (i.e., when the presidential campaign began to unfold in the US), this number fell to 32% - the lowest level in the history of surveys. And among the Republicans, confidence in the traditional press fell to 14%. (see fig. 6) In the current situation, Trump’s staff had only one way out: to go online, into social networks, along with the path already defeated by Democrat Obama. The paradox of the situation was that a dangerous retrograde and conservative, Trump used innovative tools and technologies of propaganda and mobilization, while the nominal progressive Clinton in her election campaign adhered to traditional and even conservative approaches: the use of opinion leaders, powerful advertising in traditional media.

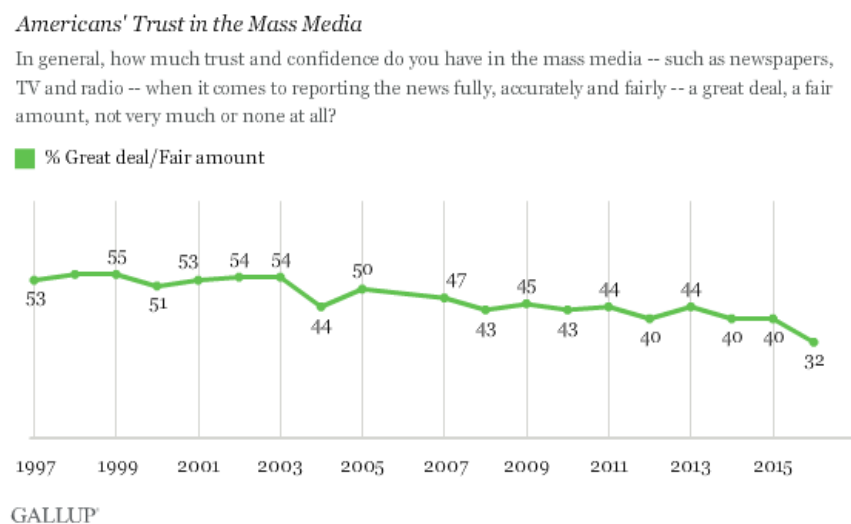


Figure 6: American's trust in the Mass Media.

According to Statista, among the subscribers of Facebook there were about 200 million Americans in 2016, and approximately two-thirds of them receive all the news from this site. Usually, news comes from the main media sources - newspapers or blogs. However, the news that users read depends on their Facebook friends, and what news they share. The main role in this process plays filters and algorithms of “Facebook”. Those people who intended to vote for Trump saw basically only messages that correspond to their worldview.

The advantage of social networks over the rest of the media is that moderators can definitely accurately identify segments of the audience and promptly communicate to it in a format that audience desires to hear. The headquarters of Trump used this advantage elegantly and created the pro-Trump communities for each social group. There was created such community as “Donald Trump's Fan Club” which was filled with content that characterizes

Trump from the very best side. Additionally, this group was full of the latest news of that time and, of course, jokes about opponents. The groups “Men for Trump” and “Women for Trump” in which content was selected according to the sex of the person reached wide popularity. In the description of the Women’s community, it was written – “Women choose strong men, which is Trump”. A wide variety of Facebook groups uniting people across America propagated Trump and his policies and increased his popularity. The creation of such communities has proved how important it is to study the audience and speak with it in the language it desires to hear.

Trump’s Facebook page was the most numerous by the number of subscribers. According to Quintly, Trump had approximately 12 million Facebook followers while Clinton had almost 8 million. After the victory, Trump admitted that social networks helped him win: “The fact that I have such power in terms of numbers with Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, et cetera, I think it helped me win all of these races where (my opponents were) spending much more money than I spent,” the president-elect said in a post-election interview with 60 Minutes. “I think that social media has more power than the money they spent, and I think maybe to a certain extent, I proved that.”

6. Internet interference of Russia in US election

During the presidential campaign in the United States, accusations of interference in the course of this campaign were often addressed to Russia, its special services and personally to Vladimir Putin. Donald Trump was chosen as the candidate for the benefit of the Russian secret services, who at first was not taken seriously by the American establishment, as well as by most citizens, however also unexpectedly soared to the very top of the political Olympus. And although the Russian representatives have officially refuted in any way any participation by Russia in throwing compromising evidence on Trump's opponents, many pieces of evidence illustrated the opposite. Donald Trump was an ideal candidate who was able to destabilize the government in the state, destroy the existing administrative structure, cause a split in society and create prerequisites for civil war. That is why Russia has been constantly accused of interfering in US election and supporting a more desirable candidate, Trump. The Russian Federation was involved in many scandals related to cyber-attacks, fake news, and influence on voters. This chapter gathers the most notorious cases that influenced or could have influenced the victory of the current US President, Donald Trump.

6.1 Intrusions into state registration systems of voters

In December 2016, two senior intelligence officials informed the US media that they were confident that Vladimir Putin personally led the operation to intervene in the 2016 presidential election. They said that the aim of his actions was a feud against Hillary Clinton and the desire to defeat global distrust of the U.S. US policy has stated that Putin's goals have evolved from criticism of American democracy before the attack on Clinton, and by the fall of 2016, he decided to directly help Trump's campaign because Putin believed he would ease economic sanctions against Russia. Russia's plans focused on weakening public faith in the US democratic process, denigrating Clinton and damaging her selectivity and a possible presidency. However, Putin was denying state involvement, saying: "We're not doing this on the state level." The Russian Federation tried to influence the outcome of the election by various methods. In August 2016, the FBI announced a nationwide "flash alert" to warn officials about efforts to hack the state voter-registration systems. Later this year, in September, the National Association of State Secretaries stated that hackers tried to enter voter registration systems in more than 20 states of the USA in the past few months. Immediately, federal inspectors connected these endeavors with hackers financed by the Russian government. Hackers managed to crack the voter registration system in four states,

including Illinois and Arizona, from which the information on 200,000 registered voters was stolen.

6.2 Cyberattack and email leaks

On March 19, 2016, John Podesta, Chairman of the Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign, received a letter with a warning about "compromise in the system." The notification from Google suggested changing the password "immediately" by clicking on a link. After clicking on phishing e-mail, Russian hackers got access to 60 000 emails from Podesta's personal account. These official communications included more than 100 emails that contained confidential information at the time they were sent, as well as approximately 2 100 emails that were not classified. According to Podesta, an IT employee made a mistake in the word "illegitimate" which he wrote instead of writing the word "legitimate". After the Moscow government got access to the mail, it instantly presented e-mail cache to WikiLeaks, which is an international non-profit organization that publishes sensitive information, news leaks and secret materials provided by anonymous sources. Later, on October 7, WikiLeaks released 2050 Podesta emails. The day after the letters were published by the WikiLeaks website, the US government formally accused Russia of entering the computer networks of the DNC, in order to intervene in the presidential election with the help of organizations such as WikiLeaks.

After the promulgation of the emails, former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton gave an interview to American Broadcasting Company (ABC), which accused Julian Assange of cooperation with Russian intelligence. "Our intelligence community and other observers of Russia and [Mr] Putin have said he held a grudge against me because, as secretary of state, I stood up against some of his actions, his authoritarianism. However, it's much bigger than that. He wants to destabilize democracy, he wants to undermine America, he wants to go after the Atlantic alliance and we consider Australia an extension of that." said Hillary Clinton. In addition, the former Secretary of State of America warned about the beginning of another "cold war". In her interview, Clinton claimed that Assange's organization WikiLeaks actively cooperated with Russian special services as part of the operation to intervene in the US presidential election, and prevented her from circumventing Donald Trump. "I think Assange has become a kind of nihilistic opportunist who does the bidding of a dictator," the politician stated. The Kremlin has repeatedly denied all the accusations and said that Russia has never interfered and will not interfere in the affairs of other states. Assange also made a statement regarding the fact that the letters were received by WikiLeaks, not from the Russian government. The story of email breaking came to an end when a persona, known as Guccifer

2.0 interviewed Fox News and took responsibility for hacking the servers of the US Democratic Party. On June 21, 2016, in an interview with Vice⁵, “Guccifer 2.0” stated that he is Romanian. The male hiding under the name Guccifer 2.0 was immediately suspected of having links with Russia, although he borrowed the bulk of the nickname from a Romanian hacker who called himself simply Guccifer and hacked the email of American and Romanian officials. However, Guccifer 2.0 denied his involvement with the Russian government. After some time, American company CrowdStrike conducted a detailed analysis of the attack on the servers of the Democratic Party, which showed that hackers penetrated into the computer systems of the party twice. Both times it was the work of groups of hackers, named Cozy Bear and Fancy Bear. It is known that they have connections with Russian state structures. These groups previously successfully penetrated the computer systems of US state structures. Moreover, an expert study of the copies of documents distributed by Guccifer 2.0 portrayed that they were processed on a computer configured for a Russian-speaking user. Additionally, technical information, including the IP address, taken from the messages sent to Guccifer 2.0 by journalists, indicated a connection with the Russian cyber-underground, although most of the messages were sent through a French VPN-firm. The person who insisted on the fact that he was Guccifer 2.0 openly ridiculed the analysis and repeated that he is a citizen of Romania and has nothing to do with Russia. However, judging by the interviews that Guccifer 2.0 gave to journalists, he did not speak Romanian well. The linguistic analysis of his answers suggested that in the language constructions used by him, a stronger influence of the Russian language rather than the Romanian was felt. Despite all the analysis of companies and statements made by the hacker himself, one cannot yet fully confirm that mail hacking was conducted from the Russian side. According to experts, the establishment of the identity of a hacker is always a difficult task. In other words, no one knows who is to blame. The first thing that professional hackers learn is the art of sweeping their tracks: how to use proxy servers, encryption and other methods in order to hide their identity and location.

6.3 Fake news on the Internet

Fake news is an informational hoax or deliberate distribution of disinformation in social media and traditional media with the aim of misleading in order to obtain financial or political benefits. At the end of 2016, the phenomenon of fake news was at the center of the public's attention thanks to the Facebook news feed, as well as the service of Twitter micro-blogs.

⁵ Vice is a print magazine focused on arts, culture, and news topics

Fake news is a definitely powerful weapon of propaganda. People can use untruthful information that not every user will check, manipulate this information (create the appearance of support for a particular topic (or vice versa). And this can really become a way to influence certain users of the social network. At the same time, this influence is the impact on a particular person. However, in the future it can be distributed and offline, for example, if person begins to share information received in social networks with relatives, friends and co-workers and discuss it. Especially effective influence of social networks will be if information is picked up by so-called "opinion leaders" - people who are watched by many in social networks and whose viewpoints they listen to. In this situation, the main thing is to react critically to the information received, analyze or check it, but not all do so.

A significant number of Americans use Facebook or Twitter to track news, and in combination with increased political polarization of the society, as well as with the phenomenon called the "filter bubble"⁶, and a tendency to read headlines mostly - fake news, apparently, could have influence on the presidential election of 2016. The number of fake news outlets on Facebook has exceeded the number of good-faith posts, thanks to the fact that fakes were more in line with expectations or more exciting. Counterfeit news are also often distributed through fake news sites that specialize in the publication of catching news, and for gaining confidence often posing as widely-known news sources. In September 2017, it became known that Facebook found political advertising, with the help of which, someone territorially from Russia tried to influence the results of the election of the US president. Representatives of Facebook said they found about 3,000 political advertising posts, which were allegedly published by fake accounts managed by Russia. Authors of ads spent about \$ 100 000 on their promotion; 470 fake accounts were banned. Another 220 suspicious accounts were not banished since they did not formally violate social network rules. The content of these posts was not directly related to the election of the US president. However, they dealt with popular topics for political discussions in America: LGBT, migrants and borders, the right to bear arms. In October, the social network reported to the Congress about Russian advertising. According to Facebook, it was seen by 10 million people. In Facebook, it is believed that the authors of fake accounts and advertising may be employees of the so-called "troll factory" in St. Petersburg, the former company "Internet Research" LLC and now - LLC Teka. According to numerous publications about this organization, its employees are engaged in publishing propaganda pro-governmental content in social networks and small Russian media. On October 7, RBC reported that the "troll factory" had sent up to a third of its

⁶ A filter bubble is a state of intellectual isolation[1] that can result from personalized searches when a website algorithm selectively guesses what information a user would like to see based on information about the user, such as location, past click-behavior and search history

employees to work in the US election - about 80-90 people. In total, for promotion in social networks for two years, the "factory" spent \$ 200 thousand, and on salary to employees - \$ 1 million per year. After Facebook mentioned a number of accounts in its research, another social network - Twitter - conducted an audit of about 450 of them. As a result, it became known that 22 of them are connected with Twitter and were blocked for spam (political advertising). Also, Twitter reports that, due to already identified accounts, 179 additional accounts were found, against which the same measures were taken for violating the rules for spam. The Russian authorities deny involvement in the influence on American politics. The press secretary of the Russian president, Dmitry Peskov, said that the Russian side has never been engaged in advertising on Facebook and the Kremlin does not know who posted propagation advertisements on the social networks.

One of the factors that led to the defeat of Hillary Clinton in the US presidential election was the spread of "false news" via Facebook. This, according to Reuters, said the ex-presidential candidate himself at the conference on information technology in California. Clinton stressed that the distribution of false information through social networks played a significant role in the presidential campaign. The news people received via Facebook influenced their choice in favor of Donald Trump. Clinton said: "Let me just mention briefly one threat in particular that should concern all Americans — Democrats, Republicans, and independents alike, especially those who serve in our Congress: the epidemic of malicious fake news and false propaganda that flooded social media over the past year. It's now clear that so-called fake news can have real-world consequences. This isn't about politics or partisanship. Lives are at risk — lives of ordinary people just trying to go about their days, to do their jobs, contribute to their communities. It's a danger that must be addressed and addressed quickly. . . . It's imperative that leaders in both the private sector and the public sector step up to protect our democracy and innocent lives."

The statement of the former secretary of state in his Twitter commented Trump. According to the president, with his accusations Clinton tries to justify his own failure. "Crooked Hillary Clinton now blames everybody but herself, refuses to say she was a terrible candidate." the current president of the United States said.

6.4 Results of the interference

According to all published data, Russia tried to intervene in the election in the US, however had no effect on the results. Such conclusions can be drawn from the six-page declassified excerpt of the report on the "Russia case", which was distributed by the US Senate Intelligence Committee. The report says that in 2016, cybercriminals "associated with

the Russian government, conducted an unprecedented coordinated cyber campaign against the elected state infrastructure. “Russian actors scanned databases for vulnerabilities, attempted intrusions, and in a small number of cases successfully penetrated a voter registration database,” the panel found. “This activity was part of a larger campaign to prepare to undermine confidence in the voting process.” It is alleged that the targets of cyberattacks are from 18 to 21 states. At least six states linked to Russia went further than the scan and made attempts to deliberately access voting websites,” the document says. At the same time, the committee stated that the “interference” had no effect on the election results. “The Committee did not see any evidence in favor of changing the votes,” the report says. From the statement of the US Senate, it can be concluded that Russia did attempt to influence the outcome of the election, however ultimately this influence was not sufficient.

Conclusion

The aim of my bachelor thesis was to study the social networks of presidential candidates during the presidential race. For this I chose two social networks: Facebook and Twitter. According to the collected and studied material, the Donald Trump campaign became the embodiment of professionalism, honesty and openness. To establish a direct, not passing through media communication, Trump borrowed from Obama the idea of intensive use of the Twitter microblogging service. (This digital platform has been used extensively and successfully in the Obama 2012 campaign.) With scandalous statements, he turned Twitter into the main source of attention to his personality.

According to Trump himself, Twitter played a key role in his political victory: “I Wouldn't Be Here If It Wasn't For Twitter [in the White House - VS],” he told the Financial Times. A comparison of the financial costs of the Trump and Clinton campaigns speaks eloquently about their priorities and the effectiveness of their chosen strategies. The Clinton campaign spent \$ 1.3 billion against \$ 800 million from Trump. At the same time Clinton spent \$ 240 million on traditional advertising (television, newspapers, outdoor - outdoor) and little more than \$ 3 million on the online advertising.

For financial proportions there were various electoral strategies. Clinton's strategy was extremely simple, if not primitive. Domination in the mass media was so powerful, and the leaders of public opinion were so unanimous that the victory appeared inevitable. Trump's headquarters proceeded from the classical axiom of strategic thinking: if you cannot be strong at once everywhere, then attempt to be stronger in the most important places at the right time. An operational action plan was formed - The Battleground Optimizer Path to Victory. It was based on an analysis of the electoral situation using Big Data. The sense of micro-targeting lays in the allocation of groups of voters, united by close interests, life styles, political and ideological sympathies. Thus, the electoral message is not addressed to society at all, however is adjusted to these groups. The more information about voters can be collected and classified, the more accurate the model of the electorate and the more contrast the target for impact. Social networks open up much larger (and absolutely legal!) opportunities for creating databases about citizens than ever before. However - and this is important to emphasize - databases are not important in themselves, however only as a condition for developing a strategy.

In the framework of the electoral model constructed with the help of Big Data, the comparative importance of the US states for achieving the goal of 270 electoral votes was assessed. Using databases, Trump's team identified the 13.5 million voters needed to win in

16 key states. The strategy for their mobilization consisted of two elements: 1) the activation of a portion of the population that had not voted before and was not covered by the polls (mostly residents of the American outback); 2) tugging unstable voters to their side from the traditional support of Democrats - youth, women, and Americans of Hispanic origin.

As a key mobilization tool, Trump's team used the world's largest advertising platforms - Facebook and Google, which allowed them to "reach out" to voters faster, cheaper and more accurately than traditional media. Also a significant role was played by Twitter and video service YouTube, where on the day of presidential election the team Trump bought all the advertising space and launched a series of five campaigning videos. In addition, the social network Snapchat, Politico and Breitbart News were important.

Communication tools were important not in themselves, however as a solution to instantly deliver and quickly test messages. Every day of the election campaign, potential voters were sent from 40 000 to 50 000 different versions of the message in support of Trump. The messages differed in formats, the presence or absence of subtitles, they were sent in the form of a video or a picture, etc. Thus, at least one of the many variants of the message reached the target audience and, at the same time, it was possible to quickly determine the most effective formats of messages for different target audiences.

With the help of digital tools, it became possible to mobilize the previously "unclaimed" (not covered by traditional channels) electorate. In general, the effectiveness of political influence has increased: the "accuracy" of falling on electoral targets (micro-targeting) has increased; the opportunity to deliver tens of thousands of messages simultaneously was opened, while its price has decreased; the opportunities for feedback from the electorate increased dramatically. At the same time, the very nature of the political message has changed: it becomes brief, emotional, highly operational, but at the same time less rational and logical.

The change in the nature of political communication is irreversible, which is predetermined by the entry into the social and political life of generations that have grown up in the new technological and socio-cultural epoch of the post-Gutenberg era. The historical significance of the 2016 campaign in the United States is that it has become an open clash of two types of communication - new and traditional, demonstrating the inevitability of the transition of politics to new communication.

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